1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER V

THE AZTEC PERIOD

In which is recorded the history of the Tenochcas and the political background of Aztec civilization

THE CHICHIMEC PERIOD witnessed invasion of the Valley 174
of Mexico by various tribes and the gradual domination of these tribes by a culture and manner of life that seems to have emanated from Puebla and northern Oaxaca. The basic political unit consisted of a tribe resident in a town supporting itself from its own land with the supplement, if possible, of supplies derived from the tribute payments of vassals. At the head of the state was a chief of lineage who also performed ecclesiastical functions. Craftsmanship was highly skilled, and trade flourished to furnish raw materials for the artisans. This productivity, however, was directed toward religion and ritual rather than the creation of personal wealth. Religion was an elaborate polytheism based on nature worship, with some god or gods singled out for special adoration, but the working of the *tonalpohualli*,* or sacred almanac, brought the full force of divine powers to aid man in his life on earth. (See Plate 29.)

The history of the Tenochcas, the Mexico City Aztecs, 173 ●
shows how a tribal body lived and acquired the position of an 805
important state. According to their own records, the Tenoch-

*to-nal-po-wa'hl-li.

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173 [805] cas started their wanderings in 1168 A.D., though this date is arbitrary and possibly represents the date of the invention of the calendar system in vogue in Central Mexico.[1] At first they lived on an island in a lake in western Mexico and crossed in boats to the shore. In a hillside cave they found an idol of Huitzilopochtli (Hummingbird Wizard), which had the useful ability to speak and give them good advice. The accounts differ, and some have the Tenochcas starting off on their travels with several other tribes from a group of caves in which they originated. The names of the tribes are seldom the same in any two annals, but they always refer to important tribal entities at the time the particular history was inscribed (Table VII). These beginnings may be considered as formalized origin myths without historical significance.[2] (See Plate 62, middle right.)

The Tenochcas carried their new god's image with them on their journey. At each stopping place they set him up to be worshiped, and in return he advised them. Their method of procedure was to stay a year or more at a given place, while pioneers searched the land for another site and planted a crop there to harvest when the whole tribe arrived. The list of stopping places is highly dubious, and the different traditions disagree. Not until the tribes reached the lakes of Mexico are the localities mentioned easily identifiable or in common accord.

175 The Tenochcas entered the lakes from the northwest, via Tula and Zumpango, so there may be a basis for believing their original home was in Michoacan.* They seem to have [648] made every effort to avoid fighting by keeping away from settled lands. At one place they split up; at another they sac-

*Mich-o-a-ca'n.

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776 lips render him an easily recognized figure in the Mexican pantheon. At Tenochtitlan he shared the great temples with Huitzilopochtli, and his control of rain made the attraction of his powers essential to survival on the Mexican plateau. (See Plate 59, bottom left.)

Quetzalcoatl, the "Feathered Serpent," God of Civilization and the planet Venus, seems to have been widely venerated but under different guises. In contrast to Tezcatlipoca, whose functions and appearance were assigned to tribal gods with different names, Quetzalcoatl had several forms shared by distinctive divinities. The sculptures of Teotihuacan and Chichen Itza show that a feathered snake was honored, and the local records mention Quetzalcoatl and Kukulcan, Nahuatl and Maya names having the same meaning. At Tenochtitlan there is ample evidence of a feathered-serpent cult, but the records refer to Xiuhcoatl,* "Fire Snake," as well as to the standard sacred variety. The term Quetzalcoatl applies as well to a bearded god with a projecting mask, also called Ehecatl, the "Wind God." In parts of the Mixteca-Puebla area and the Valley, as we have seen, there is evidence that the "white" Tezcatlipoca had the name "One Reed," the date name synonymous with Quetzalcoatl.* (See Plates 23, 53; 59, bottom left.)

776 In addition to this confusion over Quetzalcoatl, the God
173 of Civilization, the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl,
● the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the Apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who later slid back into pagan ways. Therefore, the friars, to justify the Conquest, made

*She'e-co-co-atl.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

776 much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people,
173 promised to return from the east by sea. Yet the Quetzalcoatl of the Valley of Mexico manuscripts was never blond but usually black in beard and face paint, when he was not shown as the masked Wind God, Ehecatl.

554 As if the confusion between a man and a god of many
174 guises were not baffling enough for the historian, we find
177 to our dismay that the title Quetzalcoatl not only was given to the rulers of the Teotihuacan Toltecs but also was borne at Tenochtitlan by the chief priests who exemplified the learning of the time. Distinguished authority has supported the hypothesis that a Mexican named Quetzalcoatl went to Yucatan where he attained high office and absorbed the civilization of the Maya. Later he returned to Mexico and taught a version of the calendar, as well as many other useful arts, to the peoples of the plateau. Others, more romantic, see in Quetzalcoatl an Irishman, Norseman or even Atlantean, who popped into Mexico and spread sweetness and light. I, personally, believe that the introduction of superior culture elements and the creation of local arts as well might not only lead to the invention of a God of Civilization but also endow individual innovators with the name of that god. The conflicting data suggest to me that the name and concept did not originate in any one person but resulted, rather, from the experience of many peoples over a long period of time in explaining and honoring the introduction of those benefits which ensured their corporal and spiritual well-being.

776 The great gods of the sky played an important part in the duality of the Aztec world in which an eternal war was fought symbolically between light and darkness, heat and cold, north and south, rising and setting sun. Even the stars

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ing was pictographic and was arriving at the stage of syllabic phonetics, which is an important part of the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt. There was no alphabet, but a picture of an animal or thing could be combined with the picture of another animal or thing to give a third meaning in terms of its sound value, much like our method of rebus writing. We could write: "I can be hospitable," in terms of the sounds given to pictures of an eye, a tin can, a bee, a horse, a hole in the ground and a table. The Aztecs wrote the name of their capital by drawing stone *tena* from which sprouted a nopal cactus, *nochtli*, or the town Pantepec, by drawing a flag, *pantli*, on a conventionalized hill, *tepec*. Color, position, puns and abbreviations all contributed to recording sounds by this means. Conventionalized signs, like footprints to show travel or movement, a shield and club for war, a bundled corpse for death, gave simple connotations of action.[19] (See Fig. 2.)

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Aztec writing offered no way of making general statements or expressing abstract ideas. Yet the full accounts of historical events, set down after the Conquest in Spanish or Nahuatl, indicate that oral traditions, possibly learned as a chant or saga, supplemented these ideographic records.

802

Their numerical system was vigesimal. The Aztecs counted by twenties where we count by tens. They indicated quantities up to twenty by the requisite number of dots, although in the Mixteca this method was abridged by using bars to represent groups of five. The Aztecs used a flag to indicate twenty, repeating it for quantities up to four hundred, while a sign like a fir tree, meaning numerous as hairs, signified four hundred (20 × 20). The next unit, eight thousand (20 × 20 × 20), was indicated by a bag, referring to the almost innumerable contents of a sack of cacao beans. (See Fig. 2.)

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Astec NU7

De los Reyes

EIGHTH BOOK, WHICH TELLETH OF THE GREAT RULERS AND NOBLEMEN AND OF THE WAY IN WHICH THEY OBSERVED THE ELECTIONS IN THEIR GOVERNMENT.

JNIC CHICUEI AMOXTLI INTECHPA TLATOA YN HUEHUEY TLATOQUE IOAN IN PIPILTI YOAN IN QUENIN QUIPIAIA TLAPEPENALIZTLI YN IPAN TLATOCAIOTL.

● 173
648 **First Chapter**, which telleth of the rulers and governors who reigned in Mexico from the beginning of [their] rule until the year 1560.

The first ruler of Mexico.

Acamapichtli first made the beginning, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. There was peace and quiet; wars had not yet come in his reign.

The second ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Uitziliuitl was second, and ruled Tenochtitlan twenty-one years. He began wars and conquered the people of Colhuacan.

The third ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Chimalpopoca was third. He ruled Tenochtitlan ten years.

The fourth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Itzcoatzin was fourth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. He conquered the people of Azcapotzalco and Xochimilco.

The fifth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma the Elder was fifth, and ruled Tenochtitlan thirty years. He conquered and made war on all the people of Chalco; and on Quauhnauac and on all who were subject to Quauhnauac; and on Maçatlacan. And in his reign there came a great

Inic ce capitulo itechpa tlatoa in tlatoque ioan in gouernadores in otlatocatque mexico in isquichica ipeuhcan tlatocaiotl ioan in ixquichica xihuitl de 1560.

Inic ce mexico tlatoani

Acamapichtli achto compeoalti tlatocat in tenochtitlan compoaltxiuitl oce iuian iooncca in catca, aiatle iaoiotl ipan mochiuh.

Inic ome tenochtitlã tlatoanj.

Vitzilihuitl ic ome tlatocat in tenochtitlan compoaltxiuitl oçe ichoatl quipeoalti in iauiotl, quinpeuh in colhoacan tlaca.

Ic ei tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Chimalpopoca ic ei tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlactxiuitl.

Ic naui tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Itzcoatzin ic naui tlatocat in tenochtitlan matlactxiuitl onnaui quinpeuh in azcaputtalca ioan xuchmilca

Inic macuilli tenochtitlan tlatoani

Veuc motecuçoma, ic macuilli tlatocat in tenochtitlan: compoaltxiujtl ipan matlactxiuitl, quipeuh quijauchiuh in jxquich chalcatl ioan quauhnaoac ioan in ixquich moquauhnaoacaitoa ioan maçacacan, ioan ipan mochiuh in vei maianalirtli, nauhxiuitl ih

And in his reign there came a great
173 famine, which spread over the land for four years.
648 Hence was it said that the year One Rabbit had come.
[731] All the people of Mexico, and the Tepaneca and those of Acolhuacan dispersed among other [people].

manca injc mjtoa Necetochuiloc tepan moiaoac in jxquich mexicatl ioan tepanecatl, ioan acolhoacatl.

The sixth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Axayacatl was the sixth, and ruled Tenochtitlan fourteen years. It came to pass in his reign that there was war between the people of Tlatilulco and those of Tenochtitlan. As a result of the struggle, the reign of Tlatilulco then came to an end. For forty-six years no one else reigned in Tlatilulco. And when the war was waged, he who was ruling Tlatilulco was named Moquiuixtli.

And this Axayacatl conquered Tlacotepec, and Callimaya, and Metepec, Gallixtlauacan, Ecatepec, Cuzcaquauhtenanco, Teotenanco, Malinaltenanco, Tzinacantepec, Coatepec, Cuitlapilco, Teoxuaulco, Tequaloian, and Ocuillan.

Injc chicoacen, tenochtitlan tlatoani.

Axaiaca ic chicoacen tlatocat in tenochtitlan: matlacxiuitl ipā nauhxiuitl. Ipan mochiuh inic moiaochiuhque tlatilulca, ioan tenochca: inic mjxnamjque, vncan poliuh in tlatocaiotl tlatilulco: vmpoalxiujtl ipan chiquacenxiujtl in aocac tlatocat tlatilulco. Auh in jcoac mochiuh iauiotl: tlatocatia in tlatilulco, itoca moquiuixtli.

Auh in ichoatl axaiaca, quipeuh in tlacotepec, ioan callimaia, ioan metepec, callixtlaoaca, hecatepec, cuzcaquauhtenanco, teutenanco, malinaltenāco, tzinacantepec, coatepec, cujtlapilco, teoxaoalco, tequaloia, ocujllan.

The seventh ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Tiçocicatzin was the seventh, and ruled Tenochtitlan four years. No wars were made in his reign.

Injc chicome, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Tiçoçicatzin, ic chicome tlatocat in tenochtitlan nauhxiujtl. Atle ipan mochiuli in iaviotl.

The eighth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

[312] Auitzotl was the eighth, and he ruled Tenochtitlan for eighteen years. When he was ruler, Mexico was flooded. By his command it was done; five springs were opened, known as Acuecuexatl, Thillatl, Uitzillatl, Xochcaatl, and Coaatl, which were in the territory of Coyoacan and Uitzilopochco.[1] When Mexico was flooded, four years were still to pass before Auitzotl died. And when the Spaniards came here, it was already twenty-two years before that Mexico had been flooded.

Injc chicuej, tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

Auitzotl, ic chicuej tlatocat in tenochtitlan: cantolxiujtl ipan exiuiti. Icoac tlatocati in apachiuh Mexico: irenopa mochiuh, inic motlapo macujltetl ouzotl in jntoca Acuecuexatl, thillatl, Vitzillatl xochcaatl, coahatl, inma in coioacā ioan ujtzilupuchco: oc nauhxiujtl quiztia, injc apachiuh mexico, in xiamo mjqui aujzcuil. Auh in jcoac oallaque Españoles, ie iuh cempoalxiujtl omome, oapachiuh in mexico:

And it came to pass in his time that the sun was eclipsed, at midday. For about five hours the darkness was overspread; the stars appeared. All were much terrified. It was said: "The demons of darkness will descend; they will eat people."

ioan ipan mochiuh in tonatiuh qualoc, nepantla tonatiuh: aço macujlli horas in tlaoatimanca, nenque in cicitlalti, cenca nemauhtiloc, mjtoaia: ca oalnemoque in tritzimime, tequanque:

And he conquered those of Tziuhcoac, and Mollanco, Tlapan, Chiapan, Xaltepec, Izoatlan, Xochtlan, Amaxtlan, Mapachtepec, Xoconochco, Ayotlan, Maçatlan, and Coyoacan.

. ioan quinpeuh in tziuhcoaca, ioan mollanco, tlapan, chiapan, xaltepec, izoatlan, xochtlan, amaxtlan, mapachtepec, xoconochco, aiutlan, maçatlan, coioacan.

175 The ninth ruler of Tenochtitlan.

Moctezuma was the ninth, and he ruled Tenoch-

Injc chicunauj, tlatoanj tenochtitlan.

Motecuçuma ic chicunaui tlatocat in tenochtitlan

1. *Acuecuexatl.* The *Real Academia de la Historia* MS has *ỹ cuexatl hoc cuexa.*

-2-

Third Chapter, where are told the rulers of Texcoco, and as many years as they governed.

Injc ej capitulo vncan mjtoa in tezcuco tlatoque, injc izqui xiuitl tlatocatque. 173

The first ruler, who began the reign in Texcoco, was Tlahtecatzin. He ruled only eighty days, and nothing [of note] happened in his time. This one [was one of] the Chichimeca rulers.

Injc ce tezcuco tlatoanj, Quijpeoalti in tlatocaiutl in tezcuco iehoatl in tlahtecatzin çan napoalilhujtl in tlatocat atle ipan muchiuh, chichimeca tlatoque, y.

And the second who became ruler, who followed Tlahtecatzin, was Techotlalatzin the Chichimeca. And he ruled seventy years; nor did anything [of note] occur in his time.

Auh injc vme tlatoanj muchiuh, in qujoaltoqujli in tlahtecatzin iehoatl in techotlalatzin chichimecatl, auh in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the third who became ruler of Acolhuacan[1] was Ixtlilxochitl the Elder. He ruled for sixty-five years. [And] nothing [of note] befell in his time.

Auh injc ej, tlatoanj muchiuh acolhoacan iehoatl in veue ixtlilxochitl in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ioan macujlxiujtl ano tle ipan muchiuh.

And the fourth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualcoyotzin. He ruled seventy-one years. And at this time, in the time of Neçaualcoyotzin, the war was begun. The two, [Neçaualcoyotzin and] the ruler of Tenochtitlan, Itzcoatzin, conquered the Tepaneca, and they conquered people everywhere. Thereafter this Neçaualcoyotzin founded and laid down the seat of authority[2] of Acolhuacan or Texcoco.

Auh injc nauj tlatoanj muchiuh tezcuco iehoatl in neçaoalcoiotzin in tlatocat iepoalxiujtl ioan matlacxiujtl ioan cexiujtl, auh in iehoatl, y, in neçaoalcoiotzin ipan peuh in iaoiutl im onnextin in tenochtitlan tlatoanj. Itzcoatzin inic qujpeuhque tepaneca: auh in noujian tepeuhque qujn iehoatl qujpeoalti in neçaoalcoiotzin in qujtecac in petlatl in jcpalli in acolhoacan tezcuco. 173 648

And the fifth who became ruler of Texcoco was Neçaualpilli, and he ruled for fifty-three years. In his time war was made in all parts through which people were conquered. And when these two, Neçaualcoyotzin and Neçaualpilli, ruled, they were besieged by Tlaxcala and Uexotzinco.

Auh injc macujlli, muchiuh tlatoanj tezcuco, iehoatl in neçaoalpilli auh in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl vn matlactli ioã cxiujtl in jpan muchiuh iauiutl in noujian ic tepeualoia auh in iehoantin im onnextin in neçaoalcoiotzin ioan neçaoalpilli in joxc tlatocatque tzacutlacatca in tlaxcalla ioan vexotzinco.

And in the time of Neçaualpilli began what kept appearing, in the heavens, like a light, like a flame of

Auh in neçaoalpilli ipan peuh in tlein oalmoquetzaia ilhujcatitech in iuhquj tlanextli in iuhquj 173 787

1. The corresponding Spanish text reads *"señor de Tezcuco, o de Acolhuacan"*; cf. also Charles E. Dibble: *Códice Xolotl* (México: Universidad de Utah y de México, 1951), Pls. III. The term Acolhua refers to a grouping held together by kinship and political alliance occupying territory east of Lake Texcoco, with Texcoco as its center. Their main competitors for dominance in the valley were the Tepaneca, centered at Azcapotzalco. On the Acolhua, see Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl: *Historia Chichimeca* (México, 1952), pp. 41, 42, 49; also *Relaciones* (México, 1891), p. 303. *"Y así pasó los señores y pueblos que eran de su parte de los acolhuas, que son Tezcuco, Huexotzin, Coluacán."* "Coluacán" is referred to in *ibid.*, p. 250; *"Al último de estos tres, que era Tezcucomoc, nuestro de poca edad, señor de los acolhuas, le dió á Coluacán con cierto vasallos pueblos y lugares donde los mayo pobladores eran los dueños sus compañeros"* (*ibid.*, p. 269).

2. *Su petlatl, su icpalli*—the green mat and the seat. In the corresponding Spanish text, Sahagún uses the term *asiento*. The expression is illustrated from Ajacuba in Antonio de Olmos: *Gramática de la lengua mexicana* (Mexi Sánchez, ed.; Puebla: Imprimenta Nacional, 1875), pp. 218, 221.

173 787 five. It glowed each night. And for four years this came to pass. In the year count Seven Flint Knife it came to appear for the first time, and its disappearance [was] in the year count El-ven Flint Knife. And thus it persisted for four years. In many places mountains and crags broke up. And that which continued to appear, ended four years before the Spaniards came to arrive. And when Neçaualpilli died, [the Spaniards] were not yet present.

tlemjiaoatl iceioal tlatzetitica, auh nauhxiujtl in jpan muchiuh ipan xiuhtonalli chicome tecpatl in iancujcan necico auh impoliuh ipan xiuhtonalli matlactloce tecpatl auh injc tlamanca nauhxiujtl mjeccan xiti tepetl in texcalli auh in jcoac poliuh in tlen oalmoquequetzaia oc iuh nauhxiujtl aciquiuj in Españoles, auh icoac mjc in neçaoalpilli aocmo ixpan

175 648 And the sixth who became ruler of Texcoco was Cacamatzin, who ruled four years. It came to pass in his time that the men from Castile arrived here.

Auh injc chicoacen tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in cacamatzin in tlatocat nauhxiujtl. Iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc açico njcan castillan tlaca

And the seventh who became ruler of Texcoco was Coanacochtzin, who ruled five years. It was in the time of both [Coanacochtzin and] Quauhtemoctzin, ruler of Tenochtitlan, that the Mexicans were conquered.

Auh injc chicome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco, iehoatl in Coanacochtzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl iehoatl ipã muchiuh injc peoaloque mexica im omextin quauhtemoctzin tenochtitlan tlatoanj.

And the eighth who became ruler of Texcoco was Tecocohtzin, who ruled one year in the time of the men from Castile. Already at this time the Marquis was in Texcoco; here preparations for war were made by which he vanquished the Mexicans.

Auh injc chicuej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tecocohtzin in tlatocat cexiujtl ie imjxpan in Castillan tlaca ie icoac in tetzcuco catca marques vncan moiauchichiuh injc qujmpeuh mexica.

The ninth who became ruler of Texcoco was Itzlilxochitzin, who ruled eight years. And when the Mexicans were conquered, [the Spaniards] went taking him with them. He stood by the Marquis. And [the Marquis] took him to Uei mollan.[1] It came to pass that in their time the city [of Texcoco] was completely quieted, that the Marquis and Coanacochtli together set [affairs] in order.

Injc chicunauj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in itzlilxochitzin in tlatocat chicuexiujtl auh in icoac peoaloque mexica qujujcatiuja in marques itlan onmoquetz ioã qujuicaia in vej mollan iehoãtin imjxpan muchiuh injc vel motlatlali altepetl injc tlaotlalali marques neboan coanacuchtli.

175 The tenth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Yoyontzin. He governed one year.

Injc matlactlj tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in icxiontzin in tlatocat cexiujtl.

The eleventh who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Tetlauenetzquititzin. He governed five years.

Injc matlactloçe tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in tetlauenetzqujtitzin in tlatocat macujlxiujtl.

The twelfth who became ruler of Texcoco [was] Don Antonio Tlauitoltzin. He governed six years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco iehoatl in don Antonjo tlaujtoltzin in tlatocat chicocexiujtl.

The thirteenth who became ruler of Texcoco [is]

Injc matlactlj omej tlatoanj muchiuh tetzcuco,

1. Cf. *Codex of 1576* (I. M. Arbeiz *Histoire de la nation mexicaine. . . . Reproduction du Codex de 1576* [Paris: Maisonneuve/Palma, Editeurs, 1991]), p. 87, and *Mapa de Tepechpan*.

173 **Fourth Chapter, in which are recorded the rulers of Uexotla.**

Inic nahuj capitulo vncan motenehoa in tlatoque vexotla.

Behold, the Chichimeca rulers of Uexotla were known as Acolhua. There the Acolhua Chichimeca first arrived.

Iacate in chichimeca tlatoque catca vexotla in moteneoa aculoaque in vmpa achto açico aculhoacan chichimeca.

The first who became ruler of Uexotla [was] Maçatzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-eight years.

Inic ce tlatoanj muchiuh uexotla Maçatzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The second ruler [was] Tochin tecutli. He ruled thirty-eight years.

Inic vme tlatoanj tochin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl.

The third ruler [was] Ayotzin tecutli. He ruled seventy-four years.

Inic ei tlatoanj aiotzin tecutli in tlatocat epoalxiujtl ipã matlacxiujtl ioan nauhxiujtl.

The fourth ruler [was] Quatlauiçe tecutli. He ruled fifty-five years.

Inic nahuj tlatoanj quatlauiçe tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl.

173 648 **The fifth ruler was named Totomochtzin; he ruled fifty-two years. And these five Chichimeca rulers, who maintained well the government [of Uexotla], exacted tribute from no one in the three hundred[1] years in which they [thus] maintained well their sovereignty.**

Inic macujlli tlatoanj itoca totomochtzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ipan matlacxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl zuh in jmacujlixtin, y, chichimeca tlatoque in uel quipiaia in jtlatocaio in acampa tequjtia caxtolpoalxiujtl in uel quipix in jtlatocaio.

The sixth ruler was named Iaotzin tecutli; he ruled fifty-eight years.[2] In his time the Acolhua Chichimeca began to exact tribute of [those of] Tepanecayan.

Inic chiquacen tlatoanj itoca iautzin tecutli in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ipan exiujtl iehoatl ipan peuh inic tequjtque tepanoaia chichimeca aculhoaque.

173 **The seventh ruler was named Xilotzin tecutli. He ruled twenty-eight years.**

Inic chicome tlatoanj itoca xilotzin tecutli in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The eighth ruler was named Itlacauhtzin. He ruled twenty-eight years.

Inic chicuej tlatoanj itoca itlacauhtzin in tlatocat cempoalxiujtl ipan chicuexiujtl.

The ninth ruler was named Tlaçolyaotzin; he ruled fifty-eight years.[3] At about this time it came

Inic chicunauj tlatoanj itoca tlaçoliautzin in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan caxtolxiujtl ioan exiujtl quj

1. In the *Real Academia de la Historia* MS (*Primeros memoriales*, Chap. III), the Nahuatl text reads caxtolpoalxiujtl ioan vnxiujtl ioan ceiuitl (313 years).
2. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.
3. Corresponding Spanish text reads 53 years.

173 to pass that the seat of authority was established in Texcoco, so that Neçaualcoyotzin was invested with rule. [Their periods of rule] came together—[that of] Tlaçolyaotzin of Ucaotla [and that of Neçaualcoyotzin].

ieheuā ipan mochiuh injc motecac petlal icpalli texcuco injc motecutlali neçaualcoiotzin monamicque tlaçoliaotzin vcxutla.

The tenth ruler was named Tzontemoctzin. He ruled fifteen years.

Injc matlactli tlatoanj, itoca tzontemoctzin: in tlatocat cantolxiujtl.

The eleventh ruler was named Cuitlauatzin. He ruled forty-one years.

Injc matlactloc tlatoanj, itoca Cuitlaoatzin: in tlatocat vmpoalxiujtl ioan cexiujtl.

The twelfth ruler was named Tzapocuetzin. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactlomome tlatoanj, itoca tzapocuetzin: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan eiujtl.

The thirteenth ruler was likewise called Cuitlauatzin; only he succeeded [the former]. He ruled thirteen years.

Injc matlactli omej tlatoanj, çan no itoca Cuitlaoatzin, çā tetoca: in tlatocat matlacxiujtl ioan eiujtl.

And all the time [until] now, up to the year we are in—when the government was held in Uexotla—thus is added up to five hundred and sixty-two years, until the present year-sign, Two Reed.

Auh in ie izquich cauitl, axcan .pan in xiujtl ticate: in ie ic mocempoa, in mopia tlatocaiotl vexutla: ie centzonxiujtl, ioan chicuepoalxiujtl ioan eiujtl, in izquichica ipan axcan xiuhtonalli, vmacatl.

6: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1954 NU7 Aztec NU7

Fifth Chapter, in which it is told how many four hundreds of years ago Tollan was destroyed, up to [the present] year of 1565.

The city of Tollan [was] a very large city, and truly a marvel. A great many powerful and wise men lived there. Their history will be told in the Tenth Book. And how they were destroyed, how they dispersed and people fled—all [this] will be related there. But in this chapter, all that is to be said is how many four hundreds of years [it hath been] since the Tolteca were destroyed.

This was in [the year] one thousand, one hundred and ten; from there [the count] reacheth and endeth at this year, 1565.[1] And twenty-two years after Tollan was destroyed, the Chichimeca came to reach and take the land and establish themselves there in Texcoco.

And the first who became their leader, something like their ruler, became so in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1246. And the [first] ruler of Axcapuzalco, who was named Teçoçomoctli, [became so] in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1348. And the [first] ruler of Mexico, Acamapichtli, [became so] in [the year] of the birth [of Our Lord], 1384. And the ruler of Tlacopan, whose name was Chimalpopoca, died[2] in the year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, 1489.

Injc macujlli capitulo, ipan mjtoa: in ie quezquj- 173
tzonxiujtl poliuh tullan, in jxquichica xiujtl, de 1565.

In altepetl tullan, cenca vej altepetl, uel mauiztic: cenca mjequjntin vncan nenca, in chicaoque, in tlamatinj in jntlacollo mjtoz in jpan ic matlactli amoxtli. Ioan in quen opoliuh, in quenjn oxixitin, omomoiaoac: muchi oncan mjtoz. Auh in jpan, y, capitulo çan ie ixquich vncan mjtoa, in ie quenquj-tzonxiujtl, in opoliuhque tulteca.

Ca ie ontzonxiujtl ipan cxxtolpoaltiujtl, ipan matlacxiujtl: oncan oallaci, oncan oallamj injn xiujtl, 1565. Auh ie iuh, cempoaltiujtl omome, opoliuh in tullan: in açico in tlalmaçeoaco: omotecaco in chichimeca, in vncan tetacuco.

Auh in iuncujcan inteiacancauh muchiuh, in iuhqujma intlatocauh muchiuh ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin in totecujo iesu xp̃o. 1246. Auh in azcapuzalco tlatoanj in moteneoa teçoçomoctli ipan in tlacat in jxiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xp̃o. 1348. Auh in mexico tlatoanj, in acamapichtli ipan in tlacat, 1384. Auh in tlacopã tlatoanj, catca in jtoca chimalpopoca, ipan in mic ixiuhtzin totecujo Iesu xp̃o. 1489.

1. Corresponding Spanish text reads 1571.
2. After in the MS, this could be read either mic or huj.

15

[p. 16 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[108] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[109] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[110] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen[111]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)[111]

[108] Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monuments arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[109] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenantzingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuiltecu*, de difícil comprehencion para los estraños."

[110] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[111] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

114 of that organization. The condition of Mexican society, which
121 is commonly given as subject to a monarchical, nay, even to a despotic rule, appears from the relation of Tezozomoc as one of a military, or rather warlike community. Every feature of their military action is intimately connected with their *civil life*. I could not resist the temptation, therefore, to make the military institutions of the Mexicans, their mode of warfare, the subject of special investigation, trusting that the results of this investigation, however defective, would not be utterly useless in promoting our knowledge of the true condition of ancient aboriginal society on this continent.

105 The Mexicans proper,[1] better known as the "Aztecs" of Mexico, belonged to the highest order of sedentary or "Village" Indians. Still, *warfare*, and *not agriculture*, appears to have been their chief occupation. They were essentially a tribe of *warriors*, who, as long as they were weak and hemmed in by foes, subsisted on fish, birds, and aquatic plants,[2] while, as soon as successful sallies from the lake-centre began to extend their sway and power, the Mexicans commenced also to live, in a great measure, upon the produce and industrial resources of *subjected* tribes. During their migration, from a region lying north of the present state of Durango, in Mexico,[3] to the centre of the high table land of that republic, they had subsisted upon the scanty crops which they

[10] [1] We adhere to the appellation "Mexicans" out of deference to a custom established. —*Mexica*, or *Mexitis* would be more correct. The former is used by a distinguished scholar, Señor Alfredo Chavero, of the city of Mexico. (See his "Calendario Azteca.") The etymology of the names "Azteca," "Aztlantlaca," and others, is foreign to the purpose of this essay.

[2] See Juan de Torquemada ("Los Veinte y un Libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana "con el Origen y Guerra de los, Indios occidentales," Madrid, 1723. Barcia's reprint of the original, which appeared in 1613), Lib. II, cap. XI, pp. 92 and 96, of 1st volume. (He adds that the art of fishing was unknown to the agricultural tribes of the Valley previous to the coming of the Mexicans.) Also, Fray Diego Duran (Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de Tierra firme, written about 1579-81, and published by Sr. José F. Ramirez, Mexico, 1867), vol. I, chap. IV and V.

● [173] [3] Fernando de Alvarado Tezozomoc (Crónica Mexicana,—published in vol. IX. of Kingsborough's Antiquities of Mexico), chap. I, p. 5, "mas de las tierras y montes que "hoy habitan los Chichimecas, que es por Santa Barbara." Duran, in speaking of the "seven caves" (Chicomóztoc), from which the Nahuatl tribes (Mexicans included) all pretended to issue, says: "These caves are in Teoculuacan, otherwise called Aztlan, a "country which we all know to be towards the north, and connected with Florida." (Chap. I, p. 8.) "They went over and through all the country of the Chichimecas, over "the new lands and plains of Cibola." (Chap. II, p. 21.) Cibola, as it has been suggested, was the name given to Zuñi, a pueblo still extant in New Mexico. (See "His- "torie of the Great and Mightie Kingdom of China, and the situation thereof, etc., etc.," translated from the Spanish of the Padre Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza (1588), by R. Parke, and republished by the Hacklurt Society, in its volume of 1853. (2 volumes.) Zuñi: "the Spaniards do call it Cibola."

14:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

But the great majority of the Indian "towns" of Mexico were 000

"to the city (Quanhnahuac) distinctly visible at the foot of the Sierra Madre" (p. 187). 172
Baron Humboldt gives the measurements as follows: Height of the hill from its base, 117 mètres (about 380 feet), divided into five tiers. Each tier is about 20 mètres high. Circumference of the hill-base about 4,000 mètres (13,000 feet). Summit platform 72 mètres long, from N. to S., and 26 m. from E. to W. The wall once enclosing this platform was about 2 m. in height. Base of the top-edifice, 20 m. 7' by 17 m. 4'. On the north side there are a number of excavations in the rocks, artificial caverns, whose openings Brantz-Mayer found "at the foot of the first terrace on the northern side of "the hill." These excavations *are said* to have been visited in 1835.

Baron v. Humboldt concludes: "Le fossé dont la colline est entourée, le revêtement "des assises, le grand nombre d'appartemens souterrains creusés dans le roc du coté "du nord, le mur qui dèfend l'approche de la plate-forme, tout concourt à donner au "monument de Xochicalco le caractère d'un monument militaire. Les naturels desig-"nent même encore aujourd'hui les ruines de la pyramide qui s'élevait au milieu de la "plate-forme, par un nom qui équivaut a'-celui de château fort ou de citadelle. La "grande analogie de forme que l'on remarque entre cette prétendue citadelle et les mai-"sons des dieux astèques (teocallis), me fait soupçonner que la colline de Xochicalco "n'était autre chose qu'un temple fortifié" (p. 134, vol. I of ed. 8vo).

E. B. Tylor ("Anahuac," Cap. VII, p. 186), speaking of Xochicalco, says: "It was "a fortified hill of great strength." Humboldt makes of it: "a fortified temple." But the hill is too high and too large for such a purpose alone. Besides, the rooms excavated in the rock, analogous to the "cliff-houses" of Arizona, the road leading originally towards Quanhnahuac, the central position of the hill itself;—all tends to indicate that "Xochicalco" was once a *pueblo, fortified after the principles prevailing among the aborigines*, and whose inhabitants dwelt partly in the rock, partly on the tiers or on the esplanade into which the summit had been levelled. The "teocalli," or temple, occupied the hill-top, being there as well in the *centre of the population* as in *any pueblo* situated on the *level of the plain*. The five tiers or terraces were probably lined with wooden parapets, long since decayed, and only the uppermost platform had a stone enclosure.

Another pyramidal structure, found by Capt. Gul. Dupaix, near Old Tepexe, in Tehuantepec, is represented on Plate I, part III, vol. IV, of Lord Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico." It is composed of eight stories or tiers. Capt. Dupaix remarks (Kingsborough, Vol. VI, p. 467):—"This wall exhibits a species of fortifications which I "cannot persuade myself was ever known to the inhabitants of the Old Continent." This structure has more analogy, in its outlines, with the picture given by Clavigero of the great "teo-calli" of Mexico, than any other. The drawing by the learned Abbè is entirely faultive as far as the Mexican temple is concerned, but it is not out of place when applied to a fortified pueblo, occupying an entire hill.

When the Mexicans, previous to their flight into Culhuacan and subsequently into 712
the laguna, were hemmed in on the hill of Chapultepec by the tribes of the valley, they [173]
fortified the hill in the following manner, according to Durán (Cap. III, pp. 27 and 28): Their newly elected war-chief (Huitzilihuitl) directed that "along the entire declivity "of the hill many stone walls should be constructed, arising one above the other like "steps, one fathom in width, thus leaving above a spacious square where all gathered "and fortified themselves, keeping watch diligently day and night, placing the women "and children into the centre of their troop, preparing arrows, macanas, darts, cutting "stones, making slings for their defence." According to this paragraph, the hill of Chapultepec would have presented an appearance, perhaps, not entirely dissimilar to that of Xochicalco, or Tepexe,—terraced, like the "andenes" of Peru. Cervántes-Salazar, whose "Tres Diálogos latinos," or "Mexico, in 1554," have been republished, in 1875, by Sr. Icazbalceta (to whose great kindness I take occasion to offer a humble tribute of gratitude), seems to allude to remains of this original grading in his 3d dialogue, when Alfaro (one of his personages) inquires (p. 277): "Para que son estas gra-"das tan anchas y largas, que llegan hasta arriba, y rodean casi todo el cerro?" Fur-

15:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

landed tenure, and we therefore must recur to it frequently in the course of our allusions to the history of the tribe.

Secondly: we do not pretend to review the history of ancient Mexico as fully as it *should* be done, but only as far as it touches the subject of this paper. Many points therefore, which ought to be closely scrutinized, will be passed over lightly, or without any discussion.

One of the most learned authors of the 16th century, on American topics,—the Jesuit father Joseph de Acosta, says: "Learned men affirm and write that the relations and the memories of these Indians do not go further back than four-hundred years. . . . ."[5]

Indeed, although much has been written about the aboriginal history of Mexico, it appears as if the 12th century was the *limit of definite tradition*.[6] What lies beyond it is vague and uncertain, remnants of traditions being intermingled with legends and mythological fancies. Nothing positive can be gathered except that, even during the earliest times, Mexico was settled or overrun by sedentary, as well as by nomadic tribes,—that both acknowledged

[5] "Historia natural y moral de las Indias," Lib. I, cap. XXV, p. 83. The passage relates directly to Peru, but is just as applicable to Mexico.

[6] "We venture to assume this period as the one during which traditional history of Mexico really begins. Of course, those writers who have made the fabrication of a Mexican chronology a special object, go much further back. The late Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, quotes the "Codex Chimalpopoca," purported to bear date 22 May, 1558, and which begins as follows (History of the three suns). "This is the beginning of the histories of all kinds which happened a long time ago, how the earth was divided, and distributed to each one, its origin and foundation, how the sun began to give to each one his share, assigning the limits; there are now six times four-hundred years, and one-hundred more, and thirteen more . . . ." The distinguished historian concludes therefrom, that 955 B. C. there occurred already, in Middle America, a division of lands according to a systematic register ("Popol-Vuh." Introduction, page CXI). Clavigero's Chronology begins 596 A. D. ("Storia del Messico," Lib. II, cap. I). Don Mariano Veytia ("Historia Antigua de Méjico," published by Sr. Ortega, 1836), after fixing the date of the establishment of "Huehuetlapallan," to the year 2237 of the earth's creation (Vol. I, cap. II, p. 23), or 1796 B. C. (p. 219) begins for the settlement of the Toltecs at Tolantzinco in 967 A. D. (Cap. XXII, p. 121, of 1st volume). Ixtlilxochitl ("Histoire des Chichimèques ou des anciens rois de Tezcuco," translation by Mr. Ternaux Compans) says: (Cap. II p. 13) that the Toltecs founded Tollan 503 A. D. No reliance can be placed on these statements and dates. They are not any longer traditional, but mythical, and although we are far from disregarding the importance of legends or myths for historical investigations, we still cannot accept them as chronological bases. The oldest date in the history of Mexico which appears to be approximately certain is that of the settlement of the Mexicans in the marsh where they subsequently built the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan. It would about agree with A. D. 1325. Allowing two centuries more for the period during which the Mexicans and their kindred tribes reached the valley, we are carried to the twelfth century as the time from which distinct tradition has yet reached us. What lies beyond can occasionally be rendered of value for ethnological purposes, but it admits of no definite historical use.

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Secondly, the relationships in the descending scale are more closely described than those in the ascending scale.

Thirdly, in some instances women give different names from those given by men.

It results from it, that the classificatory system still, to a great extent, predominated in the ancient Mexican nomenclature for relationship, while the more modern descriptive system appears in a minority of cases only. This leads to the inference that the Mexican family itself was yet but imperfectly constituted. It was not yet so established as to form a definite group and hence cannot be expected to exercise any influence in the matter of public social life. We are, therefore, again justified in looking to the *kin* as the unit of social organization, within the limits of that widest aggregate, the tribe.[96]

Traditionary tales about the earliest settlement of man in Mexico as well as in Central America, distinctly ascribe it to "lineages" or relationships. The tribe is merely implied, and appears in a definite form only *after* this settlement has already occurred.

The "Popol-Vuh," or gathering of the cosmological and traditionary records of the QQuiché tribe of Guatemala, after enumerating the four wives of the four first men created, even says: "These [their spouses], engendered mankind, the large and small tribes: and they were the stock of us, of the QQuiché tribe." This indicates, perhaps, descent in the female line at a very early date.[97]

[96] *Dr. Adolphus Bastian*, "*Ueber die Eheverhältnisse*," ("*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*," Berlin, Vol. V, 1874) presupposes a family, definite and distinct: "Aus der Ehe, als erster Kreisung der Gesellschaft geht die Familie hervor, in ausgedehnter Peripherie als gens (unter Erweiterung durch die Agnaten) aus ursprunglichen Patriciern; wo der Clan unter Aufnahme fictiver Verwandten und zugehörigen seinen abschluss unter den Patriarchen bewahrt." Such views offer a sufficient explanation, when applied indiscriminately to the inhabitants of *all* the continents, why the organization of some aborigines of this continent is still regarded as monarchical. The nature and functions of the Indian kin are completely misunderstood and proportionately misrepresented. (See also Id., p. 356.)

[97] "*Popol-Vuh*" (Translated from the original QQuiché by the *Abbé Charles Etienne Brasseur de Bourbourg*, Paris, 1861, Part III, cap. III, p. 206). "E pogol vinak, chuti amag, nima amag; are cut u xe kech. ri oh Quoche-vinak; tzata cut x-uxic ri Ahqixb Ahqahb; mana xa E cahib chic x-uxic. xere cahib ri qui chuch oh quiche vinak." Mr. Brasseur translates "vinak" alternately as men, tribes, and nations. According to his own vocabulary, however, it means but "man" or "the increase" (See "*Grammaire QQuichè*," p. 233). In his translation of the "*Rabinal-Achí*" ("*Grammaire*" First Scene, pp. 27 and 35, and other places), "vinak" is also rendered as chief. But the true QQuiché word for tribe is "amag" ("*Grammaire*," p. 167). This alters the sense to the extent that instead of "QQuiché tribe" it should read "men of QQuiché" or rather "QQuiché

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4

A M 173

The first settlement of Chiapas is ascribed, in the tale of Votan, to *seven families*.[26] But there is still another and more remarkable tradition connected with it. Like the Aborigines of Mexico of *Nahuatl* stock, the *Tarasca* of Michhuacan, the *Maya* of Yucatan, and the *QQuiché*, *Cakchiquel* and *Zutuhil* of Guatemala, the Aborigines of Chiapas had a month composed of twenty days, bearing each a particular name. It is positively asserted by very old authority, that these twenty days were named after as many chiefs of an equal number of lineages or kins, the latter being the earliest settlers of the country. Furthermore, among these twenty names, four are everywhere prominently distinguished.

A M 805

men." The last words "xere cahib ri qui chuch oh Quiché vinak," are literally: "though four these (which, who) certainly (surely) mother us (we) QQuiché men." The note by the celebrated Abbé (p. 207, note 3), in which he states that "mother" is often applied to chief, finds a parallel in many passages of *Tezcozomoc* when the tribe is also addressed as father and mother. Also *Durán* (Cap. XV, p. 127).

The creation of these four men and four women immediately precedes, in the Popol-Vuh, the tale of the first sacrifice and the distribution of the idols, and is distinctly stated as having occurred during the time of obscurity, the morning star being their only guide and most brilliant luminary ("*Popol-Vuh*," pp. 209, 211, and 213). Now an analogous tale is told by *Sahagun* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 248, etc.), about the first appearance of both sun and moon. The Gods disputed about the place where the two celestial bodies would rise, and *four* of them, together with *four* women, looked to the *east* for their coming. The QQuiché tradition (p. 207), places the coming of these first people also in the East. It appears to be, therefore, a tradition originally common to the "Nahuatl" and to the "QQuiché," and its bearing upon the question at issue becomes still more prominent.

[26] The two leading sources on Chiapas namely: *Nuñez de la Vega* ("*Constitution diocesana del Estado de Chiapas*, Roma, 1702), and *Fray Antonio de Remesal* ("*Historia de la Provincia de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de Santo Domingo*," 1619), not being at my command now,—I can but refer the student to them, and to the following works besides: *Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci* ("*Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*," Madrid, 1776, § XVI, p. 115, copying *Nuñez de la Vega*, 34, § XXX), *Mariano Veytia y Echeverria* ("*Historia antigua de Méjico*," 1836, by Ortega, Vol. I, cap. II, p. 15). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. XII, pp. 164 and 165). *Paul Felix Cabrera* ("*Teatro critico Americano*," german translation by Lieut. *General J. H. von Minutoli*, incorporated in the latter's book. "*Beschreibung einer alten Stadt, die in Guatimala (Neuspanien) unfern Palenque entdeckt worden ist*," p. 30, etc., after Vega also). *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*" Introduction, pp. LXXIII, LXXXVII, CXII, etc). *Alex. von Humboldt* ("*Vues des Cordillères et monuments des peuples indigènes de l'Amérique*," 1861, Vol. I, pp. 269 and 283; II, pp. 256 and 257). *Bancroft, H. H.*, (Vol. III, cap. X, pp. 450 and 454; and especially Vol. V, cap. III, from p. 139 on). As usual, very full and valuable, although he does not mention any source older than Nuñez de la Vega. Finally, *A. Bastian* ("*Die Culturländer des alten Amerika*," 1878, Vol. II, pp. 269 and 302). The latter says that Votan found Chiapas already peopled. This is not confirmed by what I know of Vega and of the other (later) authority *Don Ramon Ordoñez y Aguiar* ("*Historia de la Creacion del Cielo y de la Tierra*" MSS. at the "Museo Nacional" of Mexico). Votan was "sent to divide and distribute the land" *Cabrera* says ("*Beschreibung*, etc.," "*Teatro*," p. 33), basing upon verbal communications of *Ordonnez y Aguiar*: "He (Votan) assures, that he brought seven families to this continent, of Valum Votan, and assigned land to them."

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date) 1880 NU7 Aztec NU7
Maya NU4

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621
197
173
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It is not surprising therefore if, of the earliest traces which are met with concerning such Aborigines as spoke the "good sound"

ficient for my purpose to establish its identity, in system, with the others. The Nicaraguan days are corruptions of the Mexican names, the "Niquiran" being a "Nahuatl" dialect.

Taking now the four remaining groups, we place opposite to each word its translation or interpretation so far as I can trace it, which is of course not always possible.

Mexican.	*QQuiché.*	*Maya.*	*Chiapaneco.*
Cipactli, *Marine monster.*	Imox. *Swordfish.*	Ymix. *Dragon.*	Imox.
Ehecatl, *Wind.*	Iq. *Breath.*	Yk. *Breath or wind.*	Ikh.
Calli, *House.*	*Akbal, chaos* (?).	Akbal. (See below).	*Votan.*
Cuetzpalin. *Lizard.*	Cat, *Lizard.*	*Kan. Snake.*	Chanan. *Snake.*
Cohuatl. *Snake.*	Can. *Snake.*	Chechan.	Abah, *Stone* (?).
Miquiztli. *Skull.*	Camey. *Death.*	Quimij, *Death.*	Tox.
Mazatl. *Deer.*	Quich. *Deer.*	Manik, (See below).	Moxic.
Tochtli. *Rabbit.*	*Ganel. Rabbit.*	Lamat.	*Lambat.*
Atl. *Water.*	Toh. *Shower.*	*Muluc.*	Molo.
Ytzcuintli. *Dog.*	Tzy. *Dog.*	Oc.	Elah.
Ozomatli. *Monkey.*	Batz. *Monkey.*	Chuen. (See below).	Batz. *Monkey* (?).
Malinalli. *Knot or twist*	Ci, *Broom*	Eb, *Staircase.*	Eoob.
Acatl, Cane.	Ah, *Cane.*	Been.	*Been.*
Ocelotl, *Wild cat or tiger.*	Itz. *Wizard.*	*Giz, Wizard.*	Hix.
Quauhtli. *Eagle.*	Tziquin. *Bird.*	Men. *Builder* (?).	Tzibin.
Cozcaquauhtli, *Vulture.*	Ahmak, *Owl.*	Quib, *Gum or wax.*	Chabin.
Ollin, *Motion.*	Noh, *Temperature.*	Caban.	Chic.
Tecpatl, Flint.	*Tihaz, Obsidian.*	Edznab.	*Chimaz.*
Quiahuitl. *Rain.*	Caok. *Rain.*	*Cauac.*	Cahogh.
Xochitl, *flower.*	Hunahpu, *Shooter out of a tube.*	Ajau, *Chief.*	Aghual.

For the interpretation, as above attempted, I have consulted the following very limited number of authors:—*Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Relation des choses de Yucatan, etc.*" "*Popol-Vuh,*" "*Grammaire Quiché,*" "*Ruines de Palenqué.*") *H. H. Bancroft,* (Vol. II and III). *Orosco y Berra,* ("*Geografia de las Lenguas.*") and other sources. Mr. Bancroft translates the QQuiché "akbal" by *chaos.* I would suggest "*household,*" basing upon the following note of Mr. Brasseur: ("*Chronologia antigua de Yucatan, etc.,*" por *Don Juan Pio Perez* in "Choses de Yucatan," p. 373). "*Akbal,* mot vieilli qu' on retrouve dans la langue Quiché avec le sens de marmite, vase, peut être le même que le mot *cox* ou *comitl* des Mexicains." Sr. Perez says about the word: "desconocido: tambien se halla entre los dias chiapanecas, escrito *Aghual,*" (p. 374). In this the learned Yucatan is mistaken, for Aghual corresponds to the Maya and QQuiché "Ajau" or "Ahau." Now the pot or rather kettle, was distinctly connected with the housewife, and the word "Akbal" being, as the Abbé tells us, out of use, the suggestion that it may have been used to indicate something like the Mexican "Calli"—house,—is at least permitted.

I have deliberately translated "Kan" by snake, instead of by "cord of hennequen" as Pio-Perez has it (p. 372). Compare note 1 by the Abbé.

Manik is interpreted by Pio-Perez as follows: "es perdida su verdadera acepcion; pero si se divide la espresion man-ik viento que pasa, quizá se entenderia lo que fué." If this is accepted, then the signification might be: "fleetness," "swiftness," or "rapidity,"—some of the attributes of the *deer,* which is the corresponding sign in both the Mexican and QQuiché.

Chuen, for the reasons indicated by Brasseur (note 3, p. 372 of "*Chronologia, etc.,*") should be "monkey," as well as in the three other idioms.

In regard to "Giz" *Sr. Orosco y Berra* (Part II, V, p. 108), copies the three interpretations of Don Pio-Perez, one of which amounts to "the act of plundering or rob-

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or "Nahuatl" language in Mexico, we gather the information that they started off in bands constituting "lineages" or kins. This

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bing a tree." Might there be any vague connection between this and the Mexican "Ocelotl" or beast of prey?

The word "Canac" is mentioned as "desconocido" or disused. Still the analogy in sound with the QQuiché "Caok" rain, is striking, as well as with the Tzendal "Cahogh" and finally also with the Mexican "Quiahuitl."

In regard to the calendar of Chiapas, I regret to say that the material at my command is by far too limited to venture much of an interpretation. Not one of the few Tzendal vocabularies or Grammars yet existing is within my reach. Still I must note here: "Chan" in Tzendal signifies *Snake*, therefore my translation of "Chanan." *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Recherches sur les Ruines de Palenqué*," Cap. II, p. 32, notes 4 and 5).

"Abah" probably *Stone* ("*Palenqué*," p. 65, note 5).

"Batz" as *monkey*, is identified with the three other signs of the same day by *Brasseur* ("*Popol-Vuh*," introd. p. CXXXV, note 5, Part II, cap. I, p. 69, note 4).

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Furthermore, the signs Imox, Igh, Hix, and Cabogh are, in sound at least, analogous, if not identical, with the corresponding signs of the QQuiché and Maya calendars, and the signs Lambat, Molo, Been, and Aghual, are nearly alike to those of the same days of the Maya alone, whereas, Tzibin reminds of the Tziquin in QQuiché.

Taking now the Mexican calendar as a basis, we cannot fail to notice:

(1). That fifteen of its signs are identical with those of the QQuiché.

(2). Three are absolutely identical with signs of the Maya, and five more are presumably identical also.

(3). Two are identical with signs of the Tzendal, and two more presumably so.

Therefore our assumption appears justified, that:—

(1). The Mexican and QQuiché names of the days have a common origin.

(2). That the same is likely in regard to the Maya, since the Maya and QQuiché are regarded as belonging, linguistically, to the same stock.

(3). That a presumption in favor of a similar relation towards the Tzendal of Chiapas may be admitted since, besides the four signs recognized as common to both calendars, there are at least eight more which, in sound, are identical with others of the Maya and QQuiché.

I feel authorized, consequently, to conclude:—

(1). That the names of the days given by the four linguistical clusters above stated, were probably, originally identical.

(2). That these names, therefore, *had a common origin*.

This origin is stated as follows:—

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Mendieta (Lib. IV, cap. XLI, p. 537), "and these Indians affirmed, that in ancient times there came to this land twenty men, and the chief of them was called Cacalcan, ... This writes the bishop of Chiapas. . . ." This bishop of Chiapas was *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas*, who, in the MSS., "*Historia apologética de Indias*" (Vol. III, cap. 124), appears to be more detailed. I quote Las Casas from *Brasseur* and from *H. H. Bancroft*, (Vol. 3, p. 465), where he says (Cap. 123),—the MS. itself not being accessible to me. Now it is commonly admitted, and this admission (whether correct or not) is so general, that no quotations are needed in evidence, that Cucuican or Cocolcan is identical with the Mexican Quetzalcohuatl. To Quetzalcohuatl, however, is attributed the formation of the *Mexican Calendar*. (*Torquemada*, Lib. VI, cap. XXIV, p. 53. *Mendieta*, Lib. II, cap. XIV, pp. 97, 98.)

In regard to the origin of the Tzendal Calendar, the tradition is very clear. *Boturini* ("*Idea, etc.*," § XVI, pp. 115 to 121). Quoting *Nuñez de la Vega* (32, § XXVIII of the "*Constitucion Diocesana*") "y prosigue el Prelado diciendo, que *al que llamaban Coslahuntox (que es el Demonio, segun los Indios dicen, con trece potestades) le tienen pintado en Sillu, y con hastas en la cabeza como de carnero*, quando dicho Coslahuntox se ha de corregir en Ymox, ó Mox, y no está puesto en el Kalendario por Demonio,

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was the case with the so-called "Toltecs,"[30] and with all their successors, such as the "Tezcucans," "Tecpanecans," and others, *including the ancient Mexicans.*[31]

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sino por cabeza de los veinte Señores, Symbolos de los dias de el Año, y assi viene á ser el primer Symbolo de ellos." (See also Idem, pp. 118, 119, quoting Nuñez de la Vega, 33, 34, and 35). "concuerda el Systema de los Kalendarios de Chiäppa, y Soconusco con el Tultéco, ... pues en lugar de los quatro Caractéres Técpatl, Calli, Tóchtli, Acatl, se sirven los de Chiäppa de quatro Figuras de Señores, Votan, Lambat, Been, y Chinax, etc., etc."

Clavigero (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 164). "The Chiapaneca, if we can place any reliance upon their traditions, were the first settlers of the New World. They claim that Votan, the grandson of the venerable old man who built the great ark in order to save himself and his family during the deluge, and who was one of those who erected the high building that reached into the clouds, set out by special command of God, to people the country." Adopted and quoted also by Señor Don *Francisco Pimentel*, ("*Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas Indigénas de México*," 1865, Vol. II, p. 223.) *Clavigero* (Lib. VI, cap. XXIX, p. 412, Vol. I) "The Chiapaneca . . . . . instead of the figures and names of the rabbit, cane, flint, and house, used the names Votan, Lambat, Been, and Chinax, and instead of the Mexican names of the days, they adopted those of twenty celebrated men of their ancestry, among which the four names above mentioned took the same place as among the Mexicans the Rabbit and the others." Compare also, in the appendix to the same volume, p. 633, the "*Letter of the Abbé Don Lorenzo Hervas*," Cesena, 31 July, 1780. *Clavigero* (Vol. II, "Dissertations, etc.," Cap. II, p. 281). After recalling the tradition of Votan, quoting from Nuñez de la Vega, he adds in note b, "Votan is the name of the leader of the 20 celebrated men, after which the 20 days of the month of the Chiapaneca are named."

These statements, which rest upon the writings of Nuñez de la Vega and of Ordonnez y Aguiar, are adopted, among later writers, by:—

Brasseur de Bourbourg ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, § V, p. LXXII. "*Chronologia*," in "*Relation des choses du Yucatan*," p. 374, note 4).

The identity of the twenty days of the Chiapanecan months with the names of twenty leaders of as many kins, is very likely, therefore; and since we have found the close resemblance of the Chiapanecan Calendar with that of the Yucatecan Maya, it is not unreasonable to suggest: that the names of the Maya days originally denoted the same twenty kins also. If such is the case (as the tale of Cuculcan and of his nineteen followers also seems to indicate), then the twenty signs of the QQuiché have a similar origin and finally, the actual identity of the QQuiché Calendar with the Mexican or Nahuatl proper leads to the inference that the twenty names of days of the Tzendal, Maya, and Nahuatl groups of sedentary Indians in Mexico and Central America, indicate *a common origin of these three clusters, from twenty kins or clans, or gentes*, at a remote period.

Within these twenty kins there appear *four* more prominent than the other. This again may indicate a *still older* derivation from *four*, out of which the remaining sixteen sprang through segmentation. How such segmentation may occur is plainly stated in the "*Popol-Vuh*," and has been fully referred to by me in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 391, 392, note 7), to which, in addition to the Indian authority, and to Mr. Morgan's "*Ancient Society*" (Part II, Chapter IV), I beg leave to direct the "curious reader." In regard to the actually prevailing division of Indian settlements into four quarters, it is asserted by *Brasseur de Bourbourg* ("*Popol-Vuh*," Introduction, p. 117), "Enfin, presque toutes les villes ou tribus sont partagées en quatre clans ou quartiers, dont les chefs forment le grand conseil."

I give the above as mere suggestions, begging for their acceptance in a kindly way, since they are not intended to be thrust upon the reader as "results." But I cannot resist the temptation to submit some remarks here, on other peculiarities exhibited

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About the middle of the thirteenth century the Mexicans while on a migration towards more southern regions, made

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by the so-called calendars just named, which peculiarities may throw some light on the questions raised, as to whether they originally denoted kins or not.

With a single exception (Cipactli), the Mexican and allied calendars contained the name of not one object, or phenomenon, which might not be met with *somewhere* over the wide area which the three linguistical stocks occupied at the time of the Conquest. Still, as Sr. Orozco y Berra strikingly proves ("*Geografía de las Lenguas*," Parte IIa, Cap. V, p. 107), the Mexican month contains the names of animals unknown to the ultimate home of the tribe as well as to more *northern* regions. Thus the *monkey* ("Ozomatli") is not found on the high central tableland. In regard to the sign Cipactli, I shall elsewhere refer to this sign, which may perhaps denote a "cuttle-fish" of monstrous dimensions.

Supposing now (since we have no proof yet to the contrary), that this "marine monster" was also an inhabitant of tropical seas, it must strike us that the twenty signs for the days of the aboriginal calendars under consideration

(1). Represent types and phenomena which are met with, *not exclusively, but still all*, within the area of Mexico and Central America.
(2). That some of the animal types are limited to tropical and low regions only.
(3). That none of the animals belong exclusively to the temperate zone of North America.

Consequently, that these signs are of a meridional origin, and even, taking into account that the monkey is not found in the valley of Mexico, that they originated to the *south* of it. Still, the four "Leaders," as I have called them (the first signs of each "week" of five days), namely: Rabbit, cane, flint, and house,—might as well have been selected at the *north*.

It is a fact abundantly proven, that the kins or gentes composing the tribes of North America are named after a principle identical with that found in the naming of the days among the aborigines of more southerly latitudes, namely: after objects and natural phenomena. Mr. Morgan has given the names of the gentes of at least thirty tribes, consisting in all of two hundred and ninety-six gentes. Of these two hundred and ninety-six names, ninety-eight are signs of the Mexican days, repeatedly found in the different tribes. These signs are as follows:—

Itzcuintli, Dog, mostly found, however, as wolf	22 times.
Quaubtli, Eagle	13 "
Coscaquauhtli, Hawk (although it is the "ringed vulture")	8 "
Mazatl, Deer, Elk, Caribou, Antelope	20 "
Cohuatl, Snake	9 "
Atl, Water (also as "Ice," "Sea," etc.)	4 "
Miquiztli, Skull (as "Head")	1 time.
Ollin (as "many seasons" and "Sun")	2 times.
Calli, House (as "high village" and "lodge")	3 "
Tecpatl, Flint (as "knife")	2 "
Ocelotl, Tiger (also as "panther" and "wild cat")	5 "
Ehecatl, Wind	1 time.
Acatl, Cane (also as "Indian corn")	3 times.
Tochtli, Rabbit (also as "hare")	3 "
Cuetzpallin, Lizard ("frog")	1 time.
Xochitl, Flower (as "Tobacco")	1 "
Quiahuitl, Rain	1 "

I beg to observe, that if I have added "Coscaquauhtli" to this list, supposing it to be the equivalent of "Hawk," this is a mere suggestion, and not an affirmation on my part.

Thus sixteen, if not seventeen, of the twenty signs of days of the Mexican month, are found in North America as "*totems*" *probably of aboriginal clans or kins.*

It is further interesting to note, that of the nine clans composing the Moqui tribes of Arizona, the names of seven correspond to signs of Mexican days, ("*Ancient Society*," Part II, p. 179). What little is known of the Laguna Indians foreshadows a similar result (p. 180), thus permitting the query, whether the pueblo Indians of the

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their first appearance in the northern sections of the former republic of Mexico, as a cluster of seven kins, united by the bond of common language and worship.[32] The names of these seven kins are distinctly stated and it is not devoid of interest to notice that some of these names were perpetuated as late as 1690 among the numerous "Indian wards" of the present City of Mexico.[33] We may as well add here, that these

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central west might not perhaps show a closer connection yet between the very ancient Mexican kins as denoted by their days, and the gentes composing their own tribes.

After these speculations, which I submit for what they may be worth, and with the distinct reserve that I do not attach any value to them save as hints and queries for further investigation, I beg leave to state, that in my fourth paper "On the Creed and Belief of the Ancient Mexicans," I intend to discuss all these points with more thoroughness, and, I hope, with the aid of more suitable material than that now at my command.

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[32] *Iztlilxochitl* ("*Relaciones Históricas*" "*Segunda Relacion*," Kingsborough, Vol. IX, p. 323) "y casi el ultimo de estos años se juntaron dos cabezas principales y los otros cinco inferiores á tratar si se quedarian en esta tierra ó si pasarian mas adelante." Also "*Noticias de los Pobladores y Naciones de esta Parte de America llamada Nueva-España*" ("*Tercera Relacion de los Tultecas*," Kingsborough, IX, p. 393), "Estos siete caudillos . . . . . con todas sus gentes vinieron descubriendo y poblando por todas las partes que llegaban." ("*Histoire des Chichimèques*," Cap. I, p. 13), "Ils avaient sept chefs, et choisissaient alternativement un d'entr'eux pour les gouverner." In addition to authorities quoted on the Toltecs in "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 388, note 7, to p. 392). I refer to *Velascurt* ("*Teatro Mexicano*," Vol I, Part II, Trat. I. Cap. IV, p. 234). *Granados y Galvez* (2a Tarde, p. 31).

[33] "*Tardes Americanas*" (p. 31), "bien es que los mapas de estos no nos pintan tierras, sino familias: y como estos vaguearon sin fixeza alguna por tan varios rumbos. . . . . ." It is superfluous to quote authorities in full. I but refer to "*Histoire des Chichimèques*" (Cap. V, pp. 38, 39; X, p. 70). *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX). The whole chapter is very important. *Durán* (Cap. II, pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, III; pp. 19, 20, 21, and plates I, to Trat. I°, also pl. I, to Trat. II°). *Acosta* (Lib. VII, cap. II, p. 454, and cap. III entire). *Meadela* (Lib. II, cap. XXXIV, p. 147). *Torquemada* (Lib. I, cap. XXIII, p. 51; cap. XXVI, p. 54; Lib. II, cap. I, p. 78, etc.). *Garcia* ("*Origen*, etc.," Lib. III, cap. I, p. 81; Lib. V, cap. III, p. 321). *Herrera* (Dec. III, Lib. II. cap. X, pp. 59, 60). *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. VI, p. 39 of 2d Vol.). *Velascurt* (Vol. I, "*Teatro*," Parte II, Trat. I, cap. IX, pp. 234, 235). *Clavigero* (Lib. II, cap. IV, pp. 146, 147), and others.

[34] The number *seven* (7) is almost generally accepted. Compare "*Tenure of Lands*" (p. 389, and note 21). Besides the authors there mentioned as accepting seven kins, I refer to *Dr. Ad. Bastian* ("*Die Culturlaender des Alten Amerika*," Vol. II, p. 400, note 2). *Cabrera* (in *Mautoll's Palenqué*, p. 77. Rather confused).

[35] I have gathered these names out of the following sources: *Durán* (Cap. III, pp. 20, 21), *Tezozomoc* (Cap. I, p. 6, Kingsborough, Vol. IX), *Veytia* (Lib. II, cap. XII, p. 91 of 2d Vol.). They are stated as follows:—

By Durán.	*By Tezozomoc.*	*By Veytia.*
Yopica.	Yapica.	Yopica.
Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.	Tlacochcalca.
Vitznagoa.	Huitznahuac.	Huitznahuac.
Cuatecpan.	Cihuatecpaneca.	Cihuatecpaneca.
Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.	Chalmeca.
Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.	Tlacatecpaneca.
Yzquiteca.	Yzquiteca.	Itzcuintecatl.

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Indian wards, their peculiar organization, and their communal lands, disappeared only after the secession of Mexico from Spain, not more than fifty years ago.[34]

There is, however, a fundamental difference between Durán on one hand, and Veytia and Tezozomoc on the other, inasmuch as the former says that these seven names were those of the *tutelar deities* of the seven kins ("barrios"), whereas the latter two give them as the names of *these kins themselves*. The seven tutelar deities are also named by them, and called as follows: "Quetzalcohuatl, Tlazolteotl, Macuilxochiquetzalli, Chichilticcenteotl, Piltzintecuhtli, Tezcatlipuca, and Mictlantecuhtli" (*Veytia*, as above quoted). *Tezozomoc* (p. 6), calls these gods: "Quetzalcohuatl, Oxomoco, Matlaxochiquetzal, Chichiltiezenteutl, Piltzintecutli, Metzutli, Tezcatlipuca, Mictlantecuhtli y Tlamacazqui, y otros dioses con ellas. . . . . ." A discussion of these names is very difficult, and its results appear doubtful. Still, we distinctly recognize: "Tlacochcalca," plural of "Tlacochcalcatl," therefore, "men of the house of darts." (See "*Art of War*," p. 121, note 104). "Huitznahuac," according to *Molina* (IIa, p. 157), "nitztic" is a pointed object, "nitztli" a large thorn, but "nitztlan" is the south. "Nahuac," in this instance, probably (or rather possibly), signifies "among" or "near to," thus perhaps, "people from the south" or "from near the thorns." (Example: "Quauhnahuac"—"por de los arboles," *Molina*, II, p. 63. *Pimentel* "*Cuadro descriptivo*, Vol. I, pp. 170, etc.) "Cihuatecpaneca" from "Cihuatl" woman, and "tecpan" official house. "Tlacatecpaneca" from "Tlacatl" man, and "tecpan." Finally, "Itzcuintecatl" seems to derive from "Itzcuintli" Dog, and "tecatl." The latter again decomposes into: "nitla tequi" to cut (*Molina*, II, p. 105), and "tlacatl" man, therefore the whole would be "dogcutters." "Yzquitecatl" gives a still more curious etymology, which is, however, so improbable, that we refrain from mentioning it even

It will be seen at a glance that none of these seven kins were named after the Mexican days, the last one alone containing, perhaps, the word "Itzcuintli," but even this is very doubtful yet. I shall but refer here to a singular passage in *Durán* (Cap. III, p. 29). "Ya hemos dicho como traian á su principal dios, sin cuyo mandado no se osaban menear: traian empero otros siete dioses, que á contemplacion de los siete cuevas donde antan anitado siete congregaciones de gentes ó siete parcialidades, los reverenciaban con mucha grandeza."

After the capture of Tenochtitlan by Cortés, its site was reserved by him for the erection thereupon of the Spanish city, whereas the site of Tlatilulco became the Indian settlement for a time, or rather was intended for that purpose. *Cortés* ("*Carta*. IV, pp. 110, 111, Vedia I). *Motolinia* (Trat. III, cap. VII, pp. 180, 181). *Oviedo* (Lib. XXXIII, cap. XLIX, pp. 528, 530). *Juan de Torquemada* (Lib. IV, cap. CII, p. 573.-Lib. III, cap. XXVI, p. 290). *Herrera* ("*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*," Cap. IX, p. 17. "*Historia*," Dec. III. lib. IV, cap. VIII, p. 122). *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de México*" 4th Part of the "Teatro," pp. 134, 131, 132, 212, and 213).

It is the latter author, *Vetancurt* ("*Crónica*," pp. 131, 132, 212, and 213), who gives us the names and numbers of the Mexican quarters, "barrios," or localized kins who, under the form of "Indian wards," still existed in 1600. I assume this date from the fact that the "Licencia" of the "Comisario general de Indias," is dated 17 April, 1692, (p. 13, Vol. I, "*Teatro*"). Besides mentioning the four great quarters of Mexico (p. 134), of which we shall hereafter speak, he says: "Los barrios son veinte, donde están once ermitas fabricadas que sirven para sacramentar en ellas á los que no tienen casa, decente, sirviendo de oratorios del barrio, donde en las fiestas particulares se suelen decir misas rezadas, y en algunas fiestas de devocion cuando la piden." He also gives us (pp. 212, 213) information about Tlatelulco,—information which proves that the aborigines settled there "en seis parcialidades, que cada cual tiene sus barrios, y veinte ermitas con sus titulares que celebran." This is rather obscure, and I shall

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174 posed, to all intents and purposes, one tribe as towards outsiders, there still appear among them germs of discord which, at a later date, caused a disruption of mutual ties. The details are too vague and too contradictory to allow any inference even as to the real nature of such dissensions.[35] One fact, however, is ascertained, namely: that the whole group bore in common all the hardships and vicissitudes of a wandering life and the encroachments, aggressions and temptations from outsiders; that they had sheltered together in a safe retreat, and that only when relative safety from violence was secured, a permanent division took place. These considerations should dispose of the

173 therefore give the names of the Mexican "barrios" by the side of the "ermitas" of
619 Tlatelulco, leaving the reader to notice coincidences himself.

"Barrios" of Mexico.	*"Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.*
Santo Cristo de Tzapotla.	Santa Ana Atenantitech.
Santa Véronica de Huehuecalco.	Santa Lucia Telpochcalitlan.
Santa Cruz de Tecpancaltitlan.	La Concepcion de Atenantitlan.
San Pedro de Cihuateocalitlan.	San Francisco Mecantalinco.
Espiritu Santo de *Yopico*.	La Asuncion de Apazhuacan.
San Felipe de Jesus de Teocaltitlan.	San Martin Atezcapan.
Santiago de Tlaxilpan.	Santa Catalina Cohuatlan.
Los Reyes de Tequicaltitlan.	San Pablo Tolquechiucan.
La Candelaria de Atlampa.	Nuestra Señora de Belen Tlaxoxiuhco.
La Ascension de Tlacacomoco.	Los Reyes de Capoltitlan.
San Diego de Amanalco.	San Simon Iztatla.
El Niño Jesus de Tepetitlan.	Santa Inés Hueipantonco.
El Descendimiento de Atizapan.	San Francisco Izcatla.
San Salvador de Xihuitongo.	Santa Cruz Azcocuolocan.
La Navidad de Tequixquipan.	San Antonio Tepiton.
San Salvador de Necaltitlan.	La Asuncion de Tlayacaltitlan.
La Concepcion de Xoloco.	San Francisco *Chautepan*.
San Juan de Chichimecapan.	San Juan *Huitznahuac*.
San Antonio de Tezcatzonco.	Sa Asuncion de Izayoc.
San Sebastian Cupolco.	Santa Clara Acoxac.

I have italicized those names which are also found among those of the seven original kins above enumerated, and thus we find three of them, one in Mexico, and two among the "Ermitas" of Tlatelulco.

[34] *Fernan Gonzalez de Eslava* ("*Coloquios espirituales y Sacramentales, y Poesias Sagradas*," Second Edition, 1877, by Sr. Icazbalceta.) The learned editor makes the following note, 50, to page 57. "Cuando se reedificó la ciudad de México, despues de la conquista, se colocaron en el Centro las casas de los españoles, y los Indios levantaron las suyas alrededor de aquellas. Esta poblacion india se dividió en cuatro barrios ó *parcialidades*, regidos por caciques de su nacion, sujetos á un gobernador de la misma. Los barrios principales eran San Juan y Santiago." Calling my attention to this note in his letter of 14 Nov., 1878, my esteemed friend adds: "Con el tiempo se confundió la poblacion y desaparecieron esos barrios; pero aun quedó el nombre y los bienes que poseian las 'parcialidades' los cuales desaparecieron tambien en mi tiempo."

[35] The dissensions between what subsequently became the Mexicans and the Tlatelulcans are so variously described by the authorities, that it is hardly worth while to discuss them.

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When the Mexicans, thus constituting a migratory cluster of 174
kins, reached the present central valley of Mexico, they found it occupied by a number of tribes of the same language as their own, though dialectically varied. The arrival of the new-comers was to those who had already settled, a matter of either war or of adoption. Adoption became very difficult, as well on account of the number of the immigrants as of the rivalry between already settled tribes. Therefore the Mexicans were tossed to and fro, until at last the straggling remnant found a shelter on some dry patches protruding from the marsh along which the other tribes had formed their settlements.

This settlement occurred about 196 years previous to the Spanish conquest, and it limits therefore the time, within which the

nombres de sus Conductores." What the unfortunate Italian Cavaliere here says of the Toltecs, is applicable to all the other branches of the Nahuatl stock, and bears also on the four "Carriers of the God," under discussion.

Veytia affirms (Cap. XIII, p. 110, lib. II), that after the election of the Huitzilihuitl mentioned in my note 36, the god Huitzilopochtli "did not dare to claim the government of the people." Is this an indication to the effect that the four "priests" exercised a military command?

Referring to note 29, concerning the four names of the years and leading days in the Mexican and Central American Calendars, and their probable connection with as many very ancient kinships, I beg leave to add here some additional data in regard to the singular part played by the number four, in Central American and Mexican mythology and earliest tradition. In note 27, I have already alluded to the four original pairs, as mentioned by the "*Popol-Vuh*" as well as by *Sahagun*. Previous to the creation of the four men, the "*Popol-Vuh*" has the following remarkable passage: (Part III, cap. I, pp. 195–197), "In Paxil and in Cayalá, as this place is called, there came the ears of yellow and of white corn. These are the names of the barbarians (? Chicop), who went after subsistence: the fox (Yac), the wolf (Utiu) the parrot (Quel), and the raven (Hoh), four barbarians (?) who brought them the news of the ears of yellow corn and of white corn which grew in Paxil, and who showed them the road to Paxil." "There they found at last the nourishment which went into the flesh of man made, of man formed, this was his blood, it became the blood of man, this corn which went into him by the care of him who engenders and of him who gives being." This QQuiché tale of *four* animals or "barbarians" (the latter is an interpretation of Mr. Brasseur, since "chicop" signifies simply a *beast*) carrying the material out of which man was made, also finds an equivalent in Mexican traditions, as reported by *Sahagun* (Lib. X, cap. XXIX, § 12, p. 140), of four wise men who remained in the earthly paradise of "Tamoanchan" inventing there "judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams. They composed the account of the days, of the nights, of the hours, and the differences of time, which were kept while the chiefs of the Toltecs, of the Mexicans, and of the Chichimecs ruled and governed." "Tamoanchan" as paradise, is strictly equivalent to "Paxil in Cayalá" of the QQuiché. The tradition of the four "Tutul-Xiu" among the maya of Yucatan, may also be classed among these tales. "*Series of Katunes.*" "*Epochs of Maya History.*" "*This is the Series of Katunes in Maya.*" ("*helo lai u Tzolan Katunil Ti Mayab*") in Mr. *Brasseur's* ("*Relation des choses du Yucatan*") also in *J. L. Stephens* ("*Travels in Yucatan*," Vol. II, p. 465, appendix.) Also *Durán* (Cap. XXVII, pp. 222, 234).

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[174] *Tylor* ("*Early History of Mankind*," Edition of 1878, p. 165), "Super-stitio" or "Standing Over,"—the German "Aberglaube" in the sense of "what has remained."